MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 21

The Baghela Dynasty of Rewah.

BY

HIRANANDA SHASTRI, M.A., M.O.L.
Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund.

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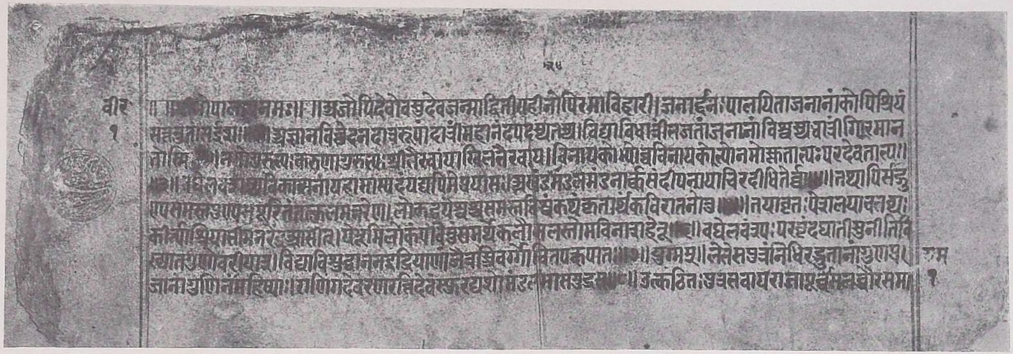

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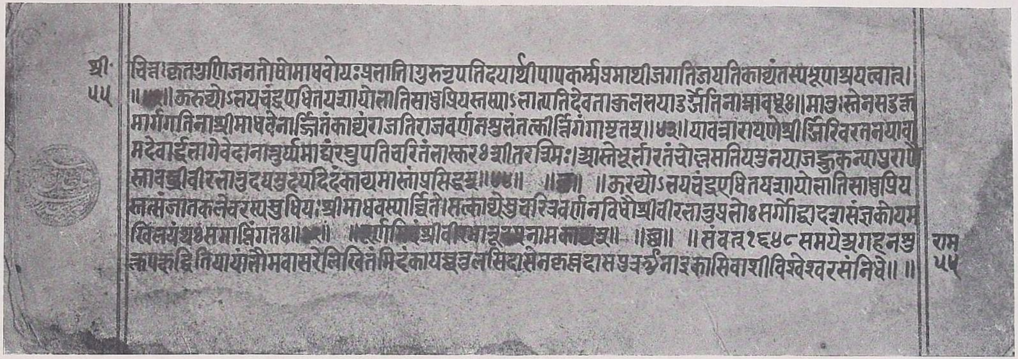

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THE BAGHELA DYNASTY OF REWAH (CENTRAL INDIA).

Some four years ago Rai Bahadur Janki Prasad of Rewah State sent to me, at the instance of my friend Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Deputy Commissioner, Wardha, C. P. (now retired), an old manuscript of a work, named *Vīrabhānūdayakāvyam*, for examination. During my short leave in Kashmir where I was sent on deputation as Superintendent of Archæology, I read the manuscript through and sent a short report on it to the above named gentleman. While doing it, I suggested that a summary of the book with a critical note should be published somewhere. As far as I am aware, no notice of this manuscript has yet appeared anywhere. In consideration of the fact that it supplies some interesting information concerning the genealogy of the Baghela dynasty and enables us to investigate the traditional accounts also, I want to place the following short account of the book together with a few historical inferences which it allows us to draw regarding some of the early rulers of Rewah.

Description of the manuscript

This manuscript has fifty-five pages, each page having eight lines of about forty-eight letters or *aksharas*. It is all in verse and has twelve *sargas* or cantos. The manuscript was written at Kāśī (Benares) by one Tulasidāsa, the son of Kṛishṇadāsa, who was a Kāyastha. The date of writing given at the end is the (Vikrama) *saṁvat* or year 1648 (=A. D. 1591), the second day of the bright half of *Agahan* (*Āgrahāyaṇa*) and Tuesday. The first and the last page of it (see Frontispiece) are marked with two different seals of Bīrbhadar (Vīrabhadra), one naming Akbar and the other Sultān Salīm. The legend in the former reads:

بیر بهدر بنده شاه اکبر ۹۶۵

"(In the year) 965; Bīrbhadra slave of King Akbar."

The legend in the latter reads:

بیر بهدر بنده سلیم سلطان

"Bīrbhadra slave of King Salīm."

Both these seals show that the manuscript belonged to Bīrbhadra (Vīrabhadra), the grandson of Vīrabhānu or the hero of the poem, and is to be regarded as

an heirloom of the house of Rewah. The necessity of marking articles like this manuscript by such seals is not apparent unless some show of loyalty to the Mughal throne was in view.

Seals on the manuscript.

The genuineness of both these seals, however, appears to be somewhat questionable. In technique they, perhaps, may resemble some of the coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr. The date on one seal is 965 which, apparently, must be ascribed to the *Hijri* reckoning. That a Hindu prince adopted this era should cause no wonder for it was the era of the sovereign, named in the seal. Another instance of this nature is afforded by the copper-plate inscription which Cunningham[1] noticed about 1881, and which is dated in the same year and belongs to the reign of Rāmachandra, the father of Vīrabhadra. Akbar ascended the throne at Kalānaur in the Punjab on 2-3 *Rabī'* II, 963 of[2] the *Hijri* era (or on the 14th of February 1556 A.D.), when he was only a boy of thirteen, although at the time of enthronement he had no kingdom. It was in the month of *Muharram* of the next year (*i.e.*, November 1557 A.D.), when the battle of Panipat was won and Hemu killed, that he became the real king of India. Thus the year marked in the seal, assuming, of course, that it belonged to the *Hijri* reckoning, would be the third year of Akbar's reign (or 1558 A.D.) and fit in well so far as the period is concerned. No date seems to be given in the second seal. Salīm was the *'alam'* or birth name of Jahāngīr which was given to him in acknowledgment of Akbar's faith in the efficacy of the prayers of Shaikh Salīm Chishti, the famous holy man of Sikri for the birth of a son. As was shown by Dr. Taylor[3], some years ago, and is evidenced by the Kābul, Ahmadābād, and Āgra[4] issues, Jahāngīr struck several coins in this name. The couplet on the coin, as illustrated by Mr. Whitehead[5] reads

مالک الملک سکه زد بر زر سلیم
شاه سلطان شاه اکبر

and shows that the title of *Sultān* was coupled with it. The legend on this seal is indicative of the same fact. These coins are known as *Salīmī* coins and were struck in the *Hijri* year 1014 soon after Jahāngīr's accession and within a period of some nine[6] months immediately subsequent to Akbar's death. He took the Imperial name of Jahāngīr[7]—the world conqueror—some time after he had ascended the throne. That the Salīm Sultān

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[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 110.

[2] V. Smith; *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 449.

[3] *Num. Sup.* X and XI, *Jour. B. A. S.*, 1908 and 1909, pp. 589-592 and 346.

[4] Half-*muhr*, dated 1014 A. H., with Mr. H. N. Wright, see *Proceedings of the annual meeting* of the Numismatic Society of India, 1923, p. 6.

[5] *Catalogue of the coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. II, *Mughal Coins*, No. 921.

[6] Though in the printed catalogues we find such coins pertaining to some seven months only, yet Dr. Taylor's collection, Mr. Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, informs me, has got Salīmī coins of all the nine months, from Abān, in which Akbar died, to the month of Tīr.

[7] The name Salīm was changed into Jahāngīr for it resembled that of the Emperor of Rūm as Jahāngīr has himself mentioned in his Memoirs quoted by Mr. S. H. Hodīvālā in his very learned memoir on the historical studies in Mughal numismatics, which has recently been issued by the Numismatic Society of India, at page 297. The foot-note which he has added to the quotation shows how far Jahāngīr resembled his namesakes in the house of Othmān, of whom the first (Salim I r. 1512-1520 A.C.) poisoned his father and murdered eight of his brothers and has been called 'the greatest monster of that monstrous race, and the second (Salim II r. 1566-1574 A.C.) was an indolent voluptuary'.

of the coins is identical with that of this seal is too clear to require any demonstration. Salīm was born in 1569 A.D. and broke out in rebellion about 1600 assuming the royal title in 1601 A.D. Vīrabhadra was at Delhi when his father Rāmachandra died in 1592. He started for Bandhogarh on hearing the news, but on the road, he fell from his palanquin and, soon after, died of the injuries caused by this fall. He expired in 1593 A.D. On the authority of this book, he was born in the life-time of Vīrabhānu, for, we are told in the 12th or the last canto that on his birth *dillīśvara* (the lord of Delhi) Humāyūn sent suitable presents and congratulations to Vīrabhānu whom he regarded as his brother. The passage being interesting is quoted in full below with translation.

आकर्ण्य दिल्लीश्वरभूपमौलिः
 श्रीमान् हुमांयूं यवनाधिनाथः ।
श्रीवीरभानोस्तनयस्य जातं
 सुतं प्रमोदं बहुधा प्रपेदे ॥२०॥
स प्रेषयामास निजैरमात्य-
 चरैः शुभान्याभरणानि हृष्टः ।
अश्वाँश्च वासाँसि सुगन्धवस्तु
 भ्रात्रीकृतस्तेन हि वीरभानुः ॥२१॥
श्रीवीरसिंहस्य यथा बभूव
 सुभ्रातृभावः सह बाबरेण ।
क्षोणीश्वरेणेह तथैव तेन
 श्रीवीरभानोरपि बन्धुभावः ॥२२॥
पौत्रं तवेमं नृपवीरभानो
 जातं किलाहं निजमेव मन्ये ।
को भ्रातृपौत्रेऽथ निजे विशेषः
 इत्याह लेखे स च मुद्गलेशः ॥२३॥

'The illustrious Humāyūn, who was the overlord of the *Yavanas* (Muhammadans), the lord of Dillī (Delhi) and crest-ornament of kings, on hearing that a son was born to the son of Vīrabhānu (*i.e.*, Rāmachandra), became very pleased. He regarded Vīrabhānu as his brother, and being delighted, he sent by his own ministers auspicious ornaments, horses, garments and scents. As there was the mutual brotherhood between the illustrious Vīrasiṁha and Bābur so there was the relationship between the illustrious Vīrabhānu and this lord of the earth. That Lord of the Mughals (lit. *Mudgalas*) thus wrote in his (congratulatory) letter "O! King Vīrabhānu! this grandson of yours, I think, is my own, for what difference is there between the grandson of a brother and one's own?"

Admitting poetic embellishments, we can say that Humāyūn might have sent such a message at the time of necessity for he was in need of help when he was routed by Sher Khān, the Afghān, at Kanauj and had to flee as a homeless wanderer from one quarter to the other, about 1540 A.D. He was

no more a *dillīśvara* from 1540 to 1554 A.D., *i.e.*, during the sway of the Sūr dynasty. We know under dire calamity the scions or members of the Mughal house in India did seek for such relationships. For instance, as Manucci has told us in his *Storia do Mogor*.[1] when Dārā Shikōh was hard pressed, Rāj Rūp, a petty prince of Nūrpur in the Punjab, was called a son of the latter and Dārā's wife having no milk in her breasts, water, with which her breasts were washed, was sent to him in token of his being regarded as a foster or say 'uterine' son. In 1555 A.D. Humāyūn reoccupied Delhi, after winning Kandhār and Kābul with the help of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia. He died in the succeeding year. I doubt if he stood in need of any help then from such chieftains as Vīrabhānu and it would appear presumptuous on the part of Vīrabhānu or his chronicler, the author of this *Kāvya*, to expect such an address from the Mughal Emperor. Taking it for granted, that he held Vīrabhānu in a very high esteem and could address him so always, we shall have to confront another difficulty which seems to be insurmountable. It is this: Rāmachandra, we are told, succeeded to the throne when Vīrabhānu breathed his last in 1540.[2] Therefore, Vīrabhadra must have been born either in 1540 or shortly before this year. In the year of the seal, *i.e.*, 965 A.H. (1569 A.D.), he would be about 29 years of age. We know that he was attending the court at Delhi and was liked by Akbar. Finding that the Emperor was annoyed at his father's persistent refusal to come to Delhi, he arranged to have Bīrbal and Za'in Khān Koka sent to bring him and see him received with due honours by the Emperor himself in 1584 A.D. Rāmchandra was fairly advanced in age then, and, if Vīrabhadra was born in 1540 A.D., he would have been 44 and at the time of his demise in 1593 his age must have been 53 years. These dates may work well. As to the question why he marked the book with his seal during the lifetime of his father, it might be said that the matter is of little consequence for he does not call himself a *rājā*. He was attending on Akbar and could very well call himself his *bandah* or slave. But then the perplexing question still remains, Where was the Salīm Sultān of the second seal then? As I have remarked above, Salīm or the future Jahāngīr broke out in rebellion against Akbar in 1600 and next year openly assumed[3] the royal title setting himself up as an independent king at Allahabad. This, then, happened some seven or eight years after Vīrabhadra had died. Therefore, I am led to think that, if the second seal is to be taken to be genuine at all, Prince Salīm must have developed signs of weariness of waiting for the crown very early and formed a party of his own, our Vīrabhadra being one, to help his cause. Badāoni tells us, as has been already pointed out by Vincent Smith,[4] that he was suspected of administering poison to the Emperor as early as 1591 A.D. In that case, Vīrabhadra, his ally or rather 'slave,' as he calls himself in the seal, could very well, though

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[1] Vol. I, p. 310.

[2] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 111 and Blochmann—*Ain-i-Akbari*, I., 358 quoted in the State Gazetteer, p. 16.

[3] V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, p. 303.

[4] *Akbar*, etc., p. 301.

surreptitiously, of course, call him the Sultān. The other seal would have served him as a defence in the case of exposure. He served both the present and the future masters.[1] Otherwise the seal seems to be inexplicable.

As we learn from the last canto, this book was composed after the birth of Vīrabhadra and in the lifetime of Vīrabhānu his grandfather, as well as the Emperor Humāyūn. As Vīrabhānu died in the year 1540 A.D. it must have been written about that very year. **Date of the work**

The colophon or the end of the last canto of the book attributes the authorship to one Mādhava, son of Abhayachandra, a Kāyastha of noble descent and devout worshipper of Vishṇu, who was led to the path of virtue by his own mother. Mādhava was patronized by Vīrabhānu, the hero of the poem. Possibly, he composed this work in honour of the birth of Vīrabhadra, as no subsequent event is narrated in it. **Authorship.**

The manuscript under examination was written in the *samvat* year 1648 or 1591 A.D., *i.e.*, only one year before Vīrabhadra was installed, or some 51 years after the poem was composed by the author. Vīrabhadra must have been very fond of it as the seals would show apparently, because it celebrated his birth.

The book divides itself into twelve cantos, which may be summarised here. A good deal of the information, which the poem gives, requires confirmation. Still, there is much of it which is corroborated by the Muhammadan historians of the time, as I shall try to show below. **Contents.**

In the Baghela dynasty there lived a king whose name was **Bhīma.** His son and successor was named **Rāṇiṅgadēva** who was a very pious and brave ruler. He took possession of **Gahorā** which developed into the capital town of the dynasty in due course. His son and successor was **Vālaṇadēva** who in turn was succeeded by his son **Vallāradēva** who got **Rājalamalladēvī**, the daughter of the ruler of **Yaskāri,**[2] called **Yasarājadēva,**[3] in marriage and built a tank after his own name. The temple of Sītalā was constructed near it later on by Vīrabhānu, the hero of the book. Through the grace of this goddess, who was the tutelar deity of the house, **Vallāradēva** had **Siṁhadēva** for his son who was a very religious sort of man and believed to have been a *jātismara* or one who knew his past birth. He got a son, named **Vīramadēva** but committed suicide at the confluence of the Yamunā and the Ganges (*i.e.*, at Prayāga) on thinking of something that had apparently happened in the past. On this **Vallāradēva** devoted himself to the care of the grandson but died before the latter came of age. In due course, Vīramadēva, the grandson was anointed as king and he proved to be a formidable ruler who was a terror to the **Canto I.**

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[1] It is interesting to observe that, if this surmise is correct, the seal will lend some support to Mr. Beveridge's opinion that the *Salīmī coins* were issued by Jahāngīr during the lifetime of Akbar.

[2] Can it be Charakhārī ?

[3] Is he identical with Jasrāj of Col. Tod's *Rājasthān*, Vol. II, page 717 ?

mlēchchha kings. He looked brilliant in the company of the king of Delhi. He took possession of the town of **Huṇḍā** and lived there for some time. One of his queens, named **Apūrvadēvī**, bore him **Naraharidēva,** his eldest son who succeeded him. This prince, while ruling happily at Gahorā got a son and successor, named **Bhaidachandra,** by the queen called **Rājalā** who was the daughter of **Arjuna** 'who held a fortress on the banks of the Ganges.' This chief, namely **Bhaidachandra,** extended his conquests over several places like Gayā, Benares and Prayāga where he built houses in which he stayed for a considerable time. He eagerly improved the town of Gahorā. His queen, named **Uddharaṇadēvī** bore him several sons, the eldest being named **Vāhararāya.** The latter predeceased his father and three of his wives, **Gāndharvadēvī** and others, committed *sati*. Bhaidachandra conquered a town called Bāgīsara[1] and was succeeded by his younger brother, named **Sālivāhana** who married **Kalyāṇadēvī,** the daughter of **Pūraṇamalla,** a descendant of Hammīr, the Chauhān, and got a son, named **Vīrasiṁha**, by her. When he reached maturity, Śālivāhana anointed him as his successor and retired. His other queen, named **Arthadēvī,** gave birth to a son called **Udayakarṇa,** who discarded the parental share and went over to **Purushōttama,** the noble lord of the Gajēndras. He settled in Utkala after marrying the daughter of the king of that country. **Vīrasiṁha** ruled the earth for a number of years and got a son, named **Vīrabhānu**, by his queen called **Sukumāradēvī.** Vīrabhānu was married to a Haihaya princess called **Gosāinī.** Vīrasiṁha ruled happily and died in an advanced age on the banks of the holy river Yamunā.

Canto II. During his just and prosperous rule Vīrasiṁha improved and embellished Gahorā, his capital town, and erected several fanes, mansions, tanks and various other buildings. Many learned men resorted to Gahorā which became the abode of many damsels and courtesans, resembling celestial nymphs. The lofty houses of the descendants of **Mallinātha,** who bore the title of **Unnāpa** (?), with the series of their flags shone forth like clouds having lines of meteors on them. With a desire to conquer and extend his dominions Vīrasiṁha went out on an expedition. He attacked Vikramāditya in his own town and completely routed him, causing considerable havoc in his army. Thus, taking possession of his town, called **Nara,** perhaps the present Narogarh near Sutna, which was as beautiful as Māhishmatí and Ujjain, he ruled there for some time and set out against the ruler of **Gāḍhā,** who at once fled away before him. Thereupon, he resided at **Gāḍhā** for some time and enjoyed the baths in the Narmadā river. Then he came to the town of **Svanara**[2](?) and wrested the fortress of **Bāndhava** from the lord of the **Kurus,** named **Nārāyaṇa.** He stayed in this fortress for some time and fully subjugated the tribe of the **Kurus** round it. Then he went to the town of Alarkka ? standing on the banks of the Ganges and there he formed an alliance with the Emperor of Delhi as was done by his ancestors. He then vanquished the ruler

[1] Possibly Buxur though its Sanskrit name is *Vyāghrasaras.* The book names it *Bagiti* or *Bag* with *Saras.*
[2] Mr. Hiralal thinks that it means his own (*sva*) Nara or Narograh where Vīrasiṁha had ruled for some time.

of Ratnapur and got tribute from him conquering Dahāra together with the tract of Sahajora at the same time.[1] In connection with the conquest of the fortress of **Bāndhava** he routed the **Parihāras** and defeated the cruel ruler of the **Bharas** also. In consequence of all this, even **Bābur,** the Mughal Emperor, was afraid of him. Thus he had a very successful career throughout his life which ended happily at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

Vīrabhānu, at the death of Vīrasiṁha, his father, duly performed all the obsequial rites and set out from Alarkka towards Gahorā with all his army. On the way he was very pleased to see Śālivāhanapura, the town founded by his grandfather and described joyfully all its beautiful features to his royal friend Rāmachandra who was accompanying him along with other princes. He halted at a flower-garden on the banks of the Jumna and dismissed the princes who were with him. After giving good rest to his soldiers for some time he marched towards his capital. **Canto III.**

Vīrabhānu, the crown prince, gradually reached **Koṭāra,** which was situated on the banks of the Jumna, and after taking a bath in the sacred river performed various rites under the directions of **Bhāgīratha,** a very pious Brahman who accompanied him. Then he went to **Guptavārāṇasī** which lay to the south of **Koṭāra** at the foot of the Vindhya mountain and, performing certain rites, reached the lake called **Kumārahrada** which was full of lotuses and beautiful like the Mānasa. Halting there for a day, he went to Gahorā and noticed the triumphal arches and other ornamentations made by the citizens in his honour. He, then, put up in the newly erected mansion, which was set apart for him. **Canto IV.**

Staying in that mansion, which was decorated for the coronation ceremonies, he was bathed in sacred waters and went through several rites, connected with the occasion, after which he was anointed as King. He then began to rule like a pious and just king to the joy of his subjects. In the course of years, he annexed the tract named **Ujjaṭa** to his principality. **Canto V.**

This canto praises in very glowing terms the wise and just rule of Vīrabhānu whom it describes in hyperboles as a model king. **Canto VI.**

Vīrabhānu had a queen named **Rāyamatī** who was the daughter of a prince called **Dādurāya.** She bore him a son who was predicted to be the champion of virtue and an incarnation of Vishṇu. He was named **Rāmachandra.** **Canto VII.**

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[1] I am indebted to Rai Bahadur Hiralal for the following information about some of these place-names. *Nara* is possibly identical with the present *Narogarh* near Sutna which was in the possession of the Parihāras of Unchahra (Nagod) who had wrested it from the Telis. So its ruler Vikramāditya whom Vīrasiṁha routed should be a Parihāra king. Gāḍhā is the present Garhā some two miles from Jubbulpore. The *Kurus* are now known as Kawars or Kāwars who inhabit the northern portion of the Bilaspur district in the Central Provinces. Their chiefs have changed their tribal name to Tāwar or Tuar in order to assimilate themselves with the Tomara Rājputs and they still hold several big zamindaris in the Bilaspur district. *Dandora* is the name by which Sarguja State was formerly known and where Kāwars are still to be found. Vīrasiṁha might have taken some fort of it. Dahāra or Dāhala, also mentioned by Alberuni, was the name of the Jubbulpore country, but, apparently, in the time of Vīrasiṁha the name was restricted to the Northern portion of the tract. From Ratanpur Vīrasiṁha went to Dahāra or Jubbulpore side and that was a natural course to follow. Thus the *Sahajora* of the *kāvya* would be the *Sahadola* which is now a railway station on the B. N. R. lying between Katni and Bilaspur. It is the same place where some astronomers came from England in the nineties of the last century to see the full solar eclipse.

Canto VIII. This canto dilates on the way he was brought up and trained in various arts and sciences.

Canto IX. In this canto we are told that when Rāmachandra grew to a marriageable age, Vīrabhānu, in consultation with his ministers and priests, arranged to marry him to the grand-daughter of **Kīrttisiṁha** and daughter of **Mādhavasiṁha** of **Gaura.** The bridegroom and the party went to Gaura and the marriage was duly celebrated with great pomp. The nuptial-tie thus united the two great houses, namely, the house of **Bhāradvāja Vyāghrapāda,** the great sage, and the house of **Arishṭanēmi,** the great '*Vipra*' (or seer) 'who stopped even the Sun by his command.' The nuptials being over, the bride's brother, named **Ratnasēna,** went with the bridegroom a few stages to wish good-bye and came back to Gaura after a few days. Vīrabhānu came to Gahorā with the married couple and received a hearty welcome from his subjects on return. Thereafter, in consultation with his ministers, he installed Rāmachandra as the Yuvarāja and, yoking him to the cares of the state, set up his mind on the meditation of the Supreme Being.

Canto X. While recounting his good qualities, this canto describes how wisely Rāmachandra ruled over his kingdom and established his name as a strong king. Evidently, much of what is said here is poetic exaggeration. Leaving aside the hyperboles, this canto tells us that he gave shelter to one Sultān Muhammad Sayyid Ali and that he was very fond of Tānsēn, the well-known musician of the age with whom he happily passed his time lavishly rewarding him for his sweet songs and *dhrupats*. Herein Tānsēn is termed the embodiment of the art of music having no rival in the three times, neither on the earth nor in heaven. The way in which the poet describes and praises this musician shows that like the royal patron he himself was very fond of him.

Canto XI. This canto gives a vivid account of Rāmachandra's trip to some forests in his dominions in the company of his friends and of some hunting scenes which testify to the high descriptive power of the author.

Canto XII. This brings the narrative to a close. When the aged king Vīrabhānu was passing his days happily, his son, Rāmachandra got a son by his queen-consort **Yaśōdā,** the daughter of the above mentioned Mādhavasiṁha. The birth of the grandson was celebrated with much eclat in both the families and much largess was freely distributed. After the performance of the natal rites the child was named **Vīrabhadra.** The canto further tells us that Humāyūn, the Lord of Delhi, felt highly pleased and sent in token of delight ornaments, horses, garments, perfumes, etc., through his ministers, as presents for the occasion. As Bābur had, the poet says, a fraternal regard for Vīrasiṁha, likewise Humāyūn had affection for Vīrabhānu. So, while sending a communication (*lekha*) or *firmān*, Humāyūn wrote to Vīrabhānu that he loved the child as his own grandson for in his eyes there was no difference between one's own grandson and that of his brother. Thus, being happy, all round, Vīrabhānu spent his days in complete joy. With his son and grandson he formed an auspicious trinity and shone like Kṛishṇa, Kāma and Aniruddha, the three Rāmas, the three Vedas and other triads. He, then, left the state to the care

of his son and retired to Prayāga, the holy confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, where he spent his time in the company of learned men, performing various deeds of merit.

The author then introduces himself and tells us that he was a devout worshipper of Mādhava (Krishṇa) and his name was also Mādhava. He came of a noble family and was a good man leading a pious life. His father was Abhayachandra, a *Kauravya* ? of wide fame.

Genealogy. As has been remarked above, the most important information which the *Vīrabhānūdayakāvyam* supplies is the genealogy of the Baghela chiefs for a few generations. As the book was written for one of these chiefs, and the genealogy, it gives, was or must have been within the range of the living memory of the time, there can be no doubt as to its authenticity or being correct and trustworthy in preference to the one given in the histories of comparatively modern composition. 'The Rewah family,' we are told, 'are singularly devoid of reliable historical records. Such histories as exist are of modern composition, and confuse persons and dates in a most bewildering manner.'[1] This being the case, the value of this information can hardly be overrated.

[2]The popular account connects the house of Rewah with the village of Vyāghrapallī, 'the tiger's lair,' lying some ten miles to the south west of Anhilwārā, which gave the name of Baghela to the dynasty.[3] It further states that Vyāghradēva, son of Vīradhavala, made his way into the north and took possession of the fort of Marphā lying 18 miles north of Kālanjar. Our *kāvya* gives no such account at all and in a cut and dry way at once introduces us to the chief, named Bhīma, leaving aside such fables as are met with in the *Vaṁśāvalīs* of the royal houses in India. This king Bhīma is not named in the list of the chiefs of Rewah given by Cunningham.[4] Apparently, he is different from the homonymous prince of the State Gazetteer,[5] the grandson of whose minister Lavaṇaprasāda, to wit, Vyāghradēva, came to Northern India. As our author starts the line with Bhīma he must have looked upon him as the first known ancestor of the house of Rewah. Apparently, he cannot be identical with the Rājā Bhēra or Bhaira of the Muhammadan historians. The genealogy given in the *kāvya* is different from what is found in the above

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[1] Rewah State Gazetteer, page 12.

[2] In connection with the origin of this dynasty, it will not be out of place to observe, in passing, the statement made in the book (see above Canto IX), that in the marriage of Rāmachandra, the son of Vīrabhānu, and Yaśōdā, the daughter of Mādhavasiṁha, the two great houses of the *munīndra* (=the chief of *munis* or sages) Bhāradvāja Vyāghrapāda, and *Viprēndra* (=the chief of *Vipras*) Arishṭanēmi were happily united. It looks more than curious, especially, because *Vipra* not only signifies a sage but a Brahman as well. Is it an instance of 'priest-kings' similar to those of the house of Mewār, who hold the office of the Dīwān of Ekalingaji, as pointed out by William Crooke, in his Introduction to the *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, by Col. Tod, page XXXVI ? Mention may also be made here of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's very suggestive paper on the 'Guhilots' [J. and Proc. A. S. B. (N. S.), Vol. V, 1909] referred to by V. Smith in his Early History of India, p. 415, footnote 1.

[3] See the State Gazetteer, pp. 11 f.

[4] A. S. R. Vol. XXI, p. 107.

[5] Pp. 11-12.

named works from this Bhīma up to Śālivāhana. After the latter there is no disagreement in the line of succession right up to Rāmachandra, or we may say Vīrabhadra. Unfortunately, the book gives no dates, otherwise, we would have been able to settle some of the connected points quite definitely. For the sake of comparison and ready reference, I append below the genealogical table as shown in the book.

(1) Bhīma
|
(2) Rāṇiṅgadēva
|
(3) Vālaṇadēva
|
(4) Vallāradēva (married Rājalamalla-dēvī, daughter of Yaśarājadēva, the Chaṇḍela King of Yaśkārī.
|
Simhadēva (predeceased his father).
|
(5) Vīramadéva
|
(6) Naraharidēva (by Apūrvvadēvī)

(7) Bhaidachandra (by Rājaladēvī, daughter of Arjuna). — (8) Śālivāhana (succeeded No. 7).

Vāhararāya (by Uddharaṇadēvī ; predeceased his father).

(9) Vīrasimha (by Kalyāṇadēvī, daughter of Pūraṇamalla Chauhān). — Udayakarṇa (went to *Utkala*, and settled there).
|
(10) Vīrabhānu (by Sukumāradēvī ; married Gosāīṇī, a Haihaya princess and Rāyamatī, daughter of Dādurāya).
|
(11) Rāmachandra (by Rāyamatī ; married Yaśōdā, daughter of Mādhavasimha, chief of Gaura).
|
(12) Vīrabhadra (by Yaśōdā).

The above list will show that Cunningham has given not only incorrect spelling but wrong names as well. Correcting his list in the light of our manuscript, the following table may be drawn for the sake of comparison, omitting the first five names, not mentioned in our *kāvya*. The two names Dalakēśvaradēva and Malakēśvaradéva are not only not found in this book but appear to be fanciful and I have left them out.

Number in Cunningham's list.	Number according to the *Vīrabhānūdaya-kāvya*.	Name given by Cunningham.	Name according to the *Vīrabhānūdayakāvyam*.	REMARKS.
6	1	Bhanāh Deva.	Bhīma.	
7	2	Anīka Deva.	Rāṇiṅgadēva.	Anīka (army) is too Sanskritic. Correct name may be Raṇāṅgadēva.
8	3	Balāna Deva.	Vālaṇadēva.	
12	4	Ballār Deva.	V (B) allāradēva.	Bariārdēva is not given in the *kāvya*. Apparently it is identical with Ballāradēva.

Number in Cunningham's list.	Number according to the *Vīrabhānūda-ya-kāvya.*	Name given by Cunningham.	Name according to the *Vīrabhānūdayakāvyam.*	Remarks.
14	5	Bhairava Deva.	Vīramadēva.	Siṁhadēva died in the life-time of his father and Vīramadēva, his son, succeeded to the throne. Cunningham calls him *Siddha* and our *Kāvya, Jātismara.* See Canto I. (Contents given above p. 5.)
15	6	Narahara Deva.	Naraharidēva.	
16	7	Bhīra Deva.	Bhaidachandra.	Bhaida, possibly, means breaker of foes.
17	8	Śālivāhana Deva.	Śālivāhana.	Śālivāhana was the younger brother of Bhaidachandra and succeeded to the throne as Vāhararāya died before his father (Bhaidachandra).
18	9	Vīra Siṁha Deva.	Vīrasiṁhadēva.	
19	10	Vīrabhāna.	Vīrabhānu.	
20	11	Rāja Rāma Deva.	Rāmachandra.	
21	12	Vīrabhadra.	Vīrabhadra.	

Some Historical facts gleaned from the manuscript.

Apart from the correct genealogy, our manuscript supplies some historical information which is corroborated by the accounts given by the Muhammadan historians. Remembering that the book is not history but a *kāvya* and as such is full of poetic hyperboles or exaggerations, which can at once be set aside, we find it very helpful in examining some of the current traditions and comparatively modern chronicles of Rewah. As a rule, such works will hardly omit incidents which add to the glory of the dynasty they describe. Very often, on the other hand, they either omit or take a casual notice of the event which causes a slur on it. The same is the case with the *Vaṁśāvalīs* or genealogical rolls. It stands to reason, therefore, to reject the story regarding Humāyūn's family receiving shelter in Bandhogarh when the Emperor fled before Sher Shāh as worthless on the ground that it finds no mention whatsoever in this book. Vīrabhānu, our author tells us, was on very intimate terms with Humāyūn who addressed him, as I have told above, like his brother while sending presents and congratulations on the birth of his grandson. Had the story been based on facts, the poet could not have omitted it especially when he has mentioned a comparatively insignificant man, namely, Sultān Muhammad Sayyid Ali seeking refuge with Rāja Rāmachandra.

The first event which the book mentions is the conquest of Gahorā by Rāṇiṅgadēva, the son and successor of Bhīma, the first ancestor of the dynasty named in it. This Gahorā, we are told, developed into a very prosperous town and almost each succeeding ruler added to its importance. It became the capital town of the House. As I have remarked while giving the genealogy of the dynasty above, Rājā Bhīra or Bhaira of the Muhammadan historians must be identified with the Bhaida or Bhaidachandra of this book. This identification not only fits in well but, with slight modifications in spelling, would support a part of the list, which Cunningham gave in his Survey Reports, alluded to above. From Vālaṇadēva (or Balāṇadēva of Cunningham) downwards the list practically becomes identical. As Vallāradēva was, obviously, preceded by Vālaṇadēva, his father, there could be no room here for Dalakēśvara and Malakēśvara of Cunningham or Dalāki-wa-Malāki of the Muhammadan historians. The date of Bhaida (Bhira or Bhaira of the Muhammadan historians) may be taken to be 1450 A.D. Counting backwards, roughly, one might say that the occupation or conquest of Gahorā by Rāṇiṅgadēva took place about the end of the 13th century A.D. This town continued to be the capital of the Baghelas up to the time of Rāmachandra who was anointed, according to our manuscript, there. One is surprised to find that there is no mention of it at all in the State Gazetteer or even in Cunningham's accounts. Possibly, I think, it was razed to the ground during the expedition of Āsaf Khān and as it was not of any special strength, no endeavour was, perhaps, made to repopulate or renovate it, especially, when the state had got by that time an impregnable stronghold in Kālanjar and Bandhogarh as well. I am unable to identify the site of it. Possibly, we may trace it in the remains near *Gurh*, a small village in the tehsil Huzur, lying some 15 miles south east of Rewah town in 24° 29″ North and 81° 25″ East.

Sikandar Lodī's invasion, referred to in Cunningham's report or the State Gazetteer, finds no mention in this book, apparently, because the Baghela chief was worsted in it. As I have already remarked, such works seldom talk of incidents which would detract from the greatness of or lower their heroes in public esteem. Nor does the book refer to the seizure of Mubārak Khān, the Governor of Jaunpur, by Rai Bhid, Rājā of Bhatah (apparently the Bhaidachandra of the list given above) or his confirmation[1] by the Sultān in the possession of Kantit. Nor do we find mention of 'Bhid's flight before Sikandar or the latter's support by Śālivāhana against Husain Shāh of Jaunpur.[2] At the same time there is no allusion to Śālivāhana's refusal to give his daughter in marriage to Sikandar Lodī which has been recorded by Ferishta.[3] One fails to understand why the poet omitted altogether the last mentioned incident especially when it would have added to the dignity of the Baghela Rāja for we are not told if the Sultān could achieve anything more than coming 'back

[1] Nizāmatullah in H. M. Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians*, Vol. V, page 94, referred to in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 108, footnote.

[2] H. M. Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians* by Dowson, Vol. V, p. 95, as quoted by Cunningham. *ibid*

[3] *Ibid.*

to Jaunpur' after laying waste or devastating the Rājā's country. One should not wonder if this existed only in the imagination of Ferishta. In this connection it should be observed that according to our *kāvya* the fort of Bandhogarh came into the possession of the Baghelas during the reign of Vīrasiṁhadēva, the son of Śālivāhana, but the account of these events given by the Muhammadan historians as stated by Cunningham[1] would show that it was already in their possession. Vāhararāya, the son of Bhaidachandra and the rightful heir, predeceased his father. Thereupon, Śālivāhana, the younger brother of the king, succeeded to the throne. Vīrasiṁhadēva, who was the son of Śālivāhana and not of Bhid (*i.e.* Bhaidachandra) as shown by these historians, defeated Vikramāditya in his very capital called Nara. He also routed Nārāyaṇa, the lord of the Kurus, and took possession of the fort of Bāndhavagaḍha from him worsting all the Parihāra princes at the same time.[2] Further, he vanquished the chief of Ratnapur and took possession of Dahāra and Sahajora. I do not know why these statements of our author should be rejected in favour of Ferishta, especially when there is hardly any exaggeration in them. I think the Muhammadan historians while writing about these small principalities mixed up different rulers and their accounts are confused.

Vīrasiṁhadēva, the son and successor of Śālivāhana, was a fairly successful prince. The manuscript says that he was on very intimate terms with Bābur. He is evidently the 'Nar Singh' of Bābur's Memoirs.[3] His intimacy must have come after the battle of Kanwaha or Khānva in 1527 A.D. when, according to Bābur himself, he assisted Rāṇā Sāṅgā with 4000 horse. On the authority of the State records alluded to in the Gazetteer (p. 14), he received the Bhatah territories in *Nānkār Jāgīr* (maintenance grant) from Bābur. Vīrasiṁha, we are further told by our author, took possession of Gāḍhā after defeating the ruler of it. The account given in the Gazetteer would support this statement. This ruler of Gāḍhā must be Amān Dās, who is better known as Sangrām Shāh, the father-in-law of the famous princess Durgāvatī, and the 'ill-disposed crafty fellow' of Abul Fazl. He contrived to murder his own father, who had disinherited him, and seize the State. Bīr Singh (Vīrasiṁha) heard of it and at once overran Gāḍhā forcing Amān Dās to take refuge in the hills.

While giving the account of Rāmachandra, our manuscript says that Sultān Muhammad Sayyid Ali took shelter with this ruler, though it does not say, who he was. According to Cunningham he gave asylum to Ibrāhīm, the son of Sikandar Sūr, in A.H. 962 or A.D. 1555. Vīrabhānu had a very long reign and Rāmachandra continued to rule as a Yuvarāja till the former retired to Prayāga[4] after the birth of his grandson, namely, Vīrabhadra, thereby fulfilling the *shastraic* injunction[2]

'अपत्यस्यैव चापत्यं"
तदारण्यं समाश्रयेत् ।

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[1] On the authority of our manuscript the account appearing in the State Gazetteer (p. 20) that the fort of Bandhogarh was given in the 13th century as a part of the dowry of the Kalachuri bride cannot be accepted.

[2] See page 16, above.

[3] Erskine, p. 360 (as referred to in the State Gazetteer, p. 14, footnote 3).

[4] *Manu*, VI, 2.

Tānsēn.

Another interesting information, the manuscript supplies, is regarding Tānsēn, the premier singer and musician of the age. Our narrative does not go beyond the reign of Humāyūn. So we do not find in it any mention of Akbar or Rāmachandra's parting with this master-musician under the peremptory demand of the Emperor. The book tells us how enamoured Rāmachandra was of this prodigy and how he passed his days with him in happiness. In the year 1562, we know, Tānsēn had to go to Akbar's court[1] where he was lavishly rewarded for his skill. Abul Fazl says that Akbar gave two lakhs of rupees to Tānsēn at his first performance. All this may be so, but considering the status of Rāmachandra in comparison to that of Akbar one might reasonably say that the former was in no way inferior to the latter in his liberality. Our author has praised him like Badāuni, who said that "he (*i.e.* Rāmchandra) left no equal behind him for princely generosity. Among his other gifts he gave a *crore* of gold to his ministrel Tānsēn in one day."[2] Says our author,

गान्धर्वविद्यामयदेहभाजे
यस्तानसेनाय कलाविदेऽदात् ।
रागं प्रतीह प्रतितानमेतत्
प्रतिध्रुपत्कोटिशशाङ्कटङ्का: ॥

'For every song and each *tāna* (running over the notes to catch the key) and each *dhrupat* (special song or melody) he gave a *crore* of rupees to this musician (*kalāvid*), namely, Tānsēn, who was the embodiment of the art of Music.' The praises which our author has bestowed on Tānsēn are found in the accounts given by the Muhammadan historians, as well as other writers who have written about him. Hindu musicians, however, accuse him of having falsified the traditional *rāgas* by violating the canons. They further say that the two great *rāgas*—the Dīpak and the Malhār—have disappeared since his time and that his influence was deleterious to the musical science of India.[3] That he had no rival in music—excepting, of course, his *guru* Baiju Bāvarā, who was a recluse—is admitted to be a fact.

Concluding remarks.

Several other points are mentioned in the manuscript but, as I am unable to test their accuracy, I need not dilate on them. They have briefly been related in the analysis of the book which has been given above. If similar accounts are available for the sister-states like Panna and others, it would be possible to investigate them all and write a connected history of Baghelkhund as well as Bundelkhund with their help. The *kāvya* is not history, still, the information which it supplies is, as I have tried to show in these pages, really valuable. Besides, it possesses considerable literary merit evincing high descriptive power of the author and can serve as a good specimen of what may be termed an historical *kāvya*.

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[1] V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 6.

[2] Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians*, Vol. V, pages 447 and 538, as quoted in the State Gazetteer, p. 16 and foot-note 1.

[3] Cf. V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 62.

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